

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 012466

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT:MBFR: APPOINTMENT WITH KHLESTOV

REF: MOSCOW 653

1. WE HAVE NO SUBSTANTIVE POINTS TO SUGGEST FOR YOUR MEETING WITH KHLESTOV. HOWEVER, YOU MAY SAY THAT THE US IS NATURALLY REVIEWING THE PAST NEGOTIATING ROUND AND THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES, AND THAT WE HOPE GREATER PROGRESS CAN BE MADE AT THE NEXT ROUND.

2. IN REFERRING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION DURING THE FOURTH ROUND, YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING STATEMENT MADE BY AMBASSADOR RESOR AT THE DEC. 12 MBFR
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PLENARY.

BEGIN TEXT

1. IN THE COURSE OF THIS ROUND, A BASIC NEW ISSUE HAS BEGUN TO EMERGE. THIS IS THE ISSUE OF WHETHER PARTICIPANTS SHOULD DIRECTLY PURSUE THE ORIGINAL AIM OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS: NAMELY, TO NEGOTIATE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, RESULTING IN AN ENHANCEMENT OF STABILITY AND IN A CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENED PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE,

OR WHETHER THEY SHOULD DEFER NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS OBJECTIVE AND INSTEAD SEEK LIMITED INTERIM MEASURES.

2. THE WESTERN POSITION IN REGARD TO THE PURPOSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS CLEAR. THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS BELIEVE IT IS THE BUSINESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO AGREE ON SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, REDUCTIONS WHICH--TOGETHER WITH APPROPRIATE ASSOCIATED MEASURES--WILL RESULT IN A MEANINGFUL IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION. WE SEEK REAL AND CONCRETE MEASURES, MEASURES WHICH WILL BE MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT. AND WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOT DEVIATE FROM THIS OBJECTIVE. THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE MADE, RIGHT FROM THE OUTSET OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, ARE DIRECTED AT THIS AIM.

3. OUR OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS LAID OUT A WORKABLE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. THIS FRAMEWORK SHOWED WHAT ROLE ALL PARTICIPANTS WOULD PLAY, AND AT WHAT POINT THEY WOULD PLAY IT. IT ALSO DEFINED THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST DEAL--THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES. IT PROPOSED AS THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM THE ACHIEVEMENT OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ON THE OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF THE TWO SIDES IN THE AREA IN A WAY WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY.

4. EARLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WE SAW THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AS REGARDS THE SIZE AND CONTENT OF REDUCTIONS WERE MAJOR AND DEEP SEATED. WE SAW THAT IT WOULD NOT BE EASY TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. BUT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ALSO INDICATED A NUMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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WAYS IN WHICH OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR FRAMEWORK AS IT STOOD DID NOT MEET THEIR CONCERNS. WE HAVE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THESE MAJOR EASTERN CONCERNS, AND TOOK THEM INTO ACCOUNT IN THE MODIFICATIONS WHICH WE HAVE MADE IN OUR FRAMEWORK IN ORDER TO FACILITATE MORE PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS.

5. MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAVE CONTINUED THIS PROCESS DURING THE PRESENT ROUND. ON FOUR KEY ISSUES, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE INTRODUCED NEW PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT. THESE NEW PROPOSALS, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE MADE IN PREVIOUS ROUNDS, PROVIDE A COMPREHENSIVE, WORKABLE

FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH WE BELIEVE PARTICIPANTS SHOULD NOW BE ABLE TO PROCEED TO PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE FOUR ISSUES ON WHICH WE HAVE MADE NEW PROPOSALS ARE:

- WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET;
- WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE COVERED UNDER AN AGREEMENT;
- WHAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD BE AGREED; AND
- HOW TO ACHIEVE GREATER CLARITY ON THE ACTUAL FACTS OF THE SITUATION PARTICIPANTS ARE NEGOTIATING ABOUT.

7. WITH REGARD TO THE FIRST ISSUE--WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET--THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOW PRESENTED A FULLY DEVELOPED MIDDLE GROUND POSITION. IN PREVIOUS ROUNDS, WE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT COULD SPECIFY THE TIME FRAME WHEN THE SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BEGIN. WE HAVE INDICATED THE OVERALL DIMENSIONS OF REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN BOTH PHASES. WE HAVE SUGGESTED REACHING AGREEMENT ON A REASONABLE TIME FOR THE DURATION OF PHASE TWO NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH A REVIEW CLAUSE. WE HAVE PROPOSED A MUTUAL COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE OVERALL LEVEL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THE PHASES. WE HAVE INDICATED THAT WESTERN REDUCTIONS IN THAT SECOND PHASE WOULD FOCUS ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. FINALLY, WE INDICATED THAT IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT, WE WERE WILLING TO CONSIDER A COMMITMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GROUND FORCES OF ALL REMAINING WESTERN

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DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, EXCEPT LUXEMBOURG, WOULD BE INCLUDED IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING.

8. DURING THE CURRENT ROUND, WE HAVE SAID THAT WE ENVISAGE THAT A NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT ON OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD EXTEND FOR A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD AND THUS BE CO-TERMINOUS WITH THE REVIEW PERIOD. WE HAVE ALSO INDICATED THAT WE WOULD EXPECT SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN AS SOON AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT AS IS PRACTICABLE.

9. THERE NOW EXISTS AN OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO SATISFY THEMSELVES THAT THERE WILL BE A SECOND PHASE INCLUDING REDUCTIONS BY ALL THE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, EXCEPT LUXEMBOURG.

10. EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED ADEQUATELY TO THE MOVES WE HAVE MADE. THEY CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION THAT THERE WILL BE NO REDUCTIONS WHATEVER UNTIL AFTER ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES AS TO THE PRECISE NUMBER AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS.

11. BUT AS WE HAVE FREQUENTLY EXPLAINED, THE US AND USSR ARE IN A FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT SITUATION FROM THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MUST HAVE THE ASSURANCE OF PRIOR FIRST PHASE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US, AS WELL AS OF

EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE GOAL OF APPROXIMATE PARITY OF GROUND FORCES, BEFORE THEY REDUCE THEIR OWN FORCES IN A SECOND PHASE.

12. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE TAKEN TWO LIMITED STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. THEY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT UNDER AN INITIAL AGREEMENT THE US AND USSR COULD IMPLEMENT THEIR REDUCTIONS FIRST, AND THAT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS' SHARES IN THE REDUCTIONS ON THE WESTERN SIDE NEED NOT BE IN PROPORTION TO THEIR SHARE OF THE TOTAL ARMED FORCES ON THEIR SIDE. THEY HAVE ALSO ACCEPTED THAT TWO SEPARATE AGREEMENTS BE NEGOTIATED IN SEQUENCE. HOWEVER, THESE STEPS ARE ESSENTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCEDURAL ONES AND DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. IT IS CLEAR, AS MY BELGIAN COLLEAGUE HAS EXPLAINED AT THE NOVEMBER 14 PLENARY MEETING, THAT THESE STEPS DO NOT DEPART FROM THE ORIGINAL EASTERN POSITION.

13. WITH REGARD TO THE ISSUE OF WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE COVERED UNDER AN AGREEMENT, WE HAVE MADE PROPOSALS WHOSE EFFECT IS TO EXTEND COVERAGE IN CONNECTION WITH POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS TO THE MANPOWER OF ALL FORCES IN THE AREA, EXCEPT OF COURSE FOR THE AGREED EXCEPTION OF THE NAVY. WE HAVE MOVED IN THIS WAY TO MEET EASTERN CRITICISM THAT THE WESTERN APPROACH DID NOT COVER AIR FORCES AND THAT, IF ONLY GROUND FORCES WERE REDUCED, THERE WOULD BE NOTHING TO PREVENT INCREASES IN AIR FORCES IN THE AREA.

14. WE REMAIN OPPOSED TO REDUCTION OF AIR FORCES. BUT WE HAVE NOW DECIDED, IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PROGRESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, TO CONSIDER OTHER WAYS OF LIMITING AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH AN AGREEMENT TO REACH PARITY IN GROUND FORCES. SPECIFICALLY, WE PROPOSE THAT PARTICIPANTS CONSIDER A MUTUAL NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT ON OVERALL AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS FOR THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE PHASES IN ORDER TO AVOID POSSIBLE CIRCUMVENTION. THIS COMMITMENT WOULD COMPLEMENT THE MUTUAL NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND WOULD SIMILARLY BE OF LIMITED DURATION. AND ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO REDUCE AIR FORCE MANPOWER, WE ARE READY TO CONSIDER OTHER APPROPRIATE WAYS OF COVERING AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN A SECOND PHASE.

15. THIS PROPOSAL IS A STEP OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE. IT REPRESENTS A FUNDAMENTAL SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN THE ORIGINAL WESTERN APPROACH THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD DEAL EXCLUSIVELY WITH GROUND FORCES. WE HOPE THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL AGREE THAT THIS IS THE APPROPRIATE

WAY OF DEALING WITH THE QUESTION OF AIR FORCES, AND THAT PARTICIPANTS CAN NOW TURN TO CONCRETE NEGOTIATION ON THE REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES.

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16. DURING THIS ROUND, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE STRESSED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON APPROPRIATE ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CONNECTION WITH REDUCTIONS. ASSOCIATED MEASURES ARE AN INTEGRAL ASPECT OF THE AGREED SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. IN HIS STATEMENT OF DECEMBER 5, MY NETHERLANDS COLLEAGUE MADE SOME NEW PROPOSALS IN CONNECTION WITH THE STABILIZING MEASURES WHICH WE PUT FORWARD EARLIER THIS YEAR. AND HE DESCRIBED WESTERN POSITIONS ON THE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS OF FLANK SECURITY, VERIFICATION, AND NON -CIRCUMVENTION

17. DURING THIS ROUND, THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE MADE SEVERAL PROPOSALS AIMED AT ACHIEVING THE NECESSARY CLARITY ON THE ACTUAL FACTS OF THE SITUATION PARTICIPANTS ARE NEGOTIATING ABOUT. WE CONSIDER THAT, IN ORDER TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS, PARTICIPANTS WILL NEED TO HAVE SOME COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE PRESENT FACTUAL SITUATION IS.

18. ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE CLAIMED THAT OUR DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES LEADS TO CERTAIN INCONSISTENCIES DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN THE WAY COUNTRIES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS HAVE ORGANIZED THEIR FORCES. WE HAVE SUGGESTED A POSSIBLE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE INCONSISTENCIES, IN A WAY WHICH WOULD RESULT IN A SIZEABLE DECREASE IN THE EASTERN GROUND FORCE TOTAL WHICH WOULD BE USED AS A BASIS FOR COMPUTING OVERALL GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS.

19. WE HAVE ALSO SUGGESTED AN EXCHANGE OF DATA TO IDENTIFY THE DIFFERENCES THAT APPARENTLY EXIST BETWEEN US AS TO TOTALS WITH A VIEW TO REACHING A COMMON UNDERSTANDING ON WHAT THE GROUND FORCE TOTALS ARE IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. SUCH AN EXCHANGE WOULD BE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS, FOR SEVERAL REASONS. AN EXCHANGE OF DATA COULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON THE GROUND FORCE TOTALS ON BOTH SIDES. THIS IN TURN WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO AGREE ON REDUCTIONS. IF DISCUSSION OF DATA PRODUCED OBJECTIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE FIGURE FOR TOTAL EASTERN GROUND FORCES WE HAVE GIVEN IS TOO HIGH, AND THAT THE

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DISPARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCE TOTAL OF THE TWO SIDES IS CONSEQUENTLY LESS THAN WE HAVE INDICATED, THEN WE WOULD NOT ASK THE EAST TO REDUCE MORE THAN WOULD BE NECESSARY TO REACH A COMMON CEILING.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

20. WE NOTE WITH REGRET THAT, AFTER A YEAR OF NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA, THERE HAS AS YET BEEN LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS. AS I NOTED A YEAR AGO, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED A DESIRE FOR DETENTE IN THE MILITARY SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE AREA OF GREATEST MILITARY CONFRONTATION. THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDE A PRACTICAL TEST OF WHETHER SUCH GENERAL EXPRESSIONS OF DESIRE ARE BACKED BY WILLINGNESS TO AGREE ON CONCRETE AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR BRINGING ABOUT GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE EXISTING SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

21. I HAVE DESCRIBED THE IMPORTANT STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN TO MODIFY THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR APPROACH IN ORDER TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR PARTICIPANTS TO GET ON WITH THE CENTRAL TASK OF AGREEING ON REDUCTIONS. THESE STEPS, TOGETHER WITH THE STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN IN THE PREVIOUS ROUNDS, PROVIDE A PRACTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS, A FRAMEWORK THAT DEALS WITH THE MAJOR CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ABOUT THE ORIGINAL WESTERN APPROACH. THIS FRAMEWORK SHOULD ENABLE THE PARTICIPANTS TO CONCENTRATE ON OUR MAIN TASK HERE--NEGOTIATING REDUCTIONS THAT ARE BOTH SUBSTANTIAL AND RESULT IN A REAL ENHANCEMENT OF STABILITY AND SECURITY. SO WE HOPE THAT EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THIS FRAMEWORK AS A BASIS FOR MAKING PROGRESS ON THIS MAIN TASK DURING THE NEXT ROUND. END TEXT. KISSINGER

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